1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

A spectacular dance called Moving the King Around (xanavʀe' glcpa'cȧm, "to move out the king") may have been coupled with the song Dragonfly (xanavȧʀe'). The word xanavȧʀe' meant not only dragonfly, but the leader of the whites, as king or President. This looks like the confusion of a native term for the insect with a Maricopazation of Spanish *general*. The reference in this dance was to Montezuma, a figure of local myths, who was identified in some fashion unknown to me with the Sierra Estrella. The mountain was called "Man lying on his back" beside its esoteric name "Berdache Mountain," and a peak at the eastern end, "Two heads." These are recorded on modern maps as "Montezuma Sleeping" and "Montezuma's Head." The word mŏntĕsu'm, according to Mrs. Redbird, meant "unknown people"! The performance was based on the circumstance that "in the early morning the Sierra Estrella looks as though there was a great building there, a castle, or a row of cottonwood trees, or the like. It will stand this way for a time and suddenly disappear." This is simply due to the morning light sharply defining the pinnacles on its northeastern front for a time.

The man "who started it again [the song?] said he was going to make something like they see in that mountain." He painted a cloth to resemble the mountain. He danced with others, all "going around" several times; then he stretched the painted cloth to cover them all. Baskets were used to mark time; some beaten, others scraped. This dance took place in the open during the day. "They thought it the greatest performance ever held. He never tried it again."

The dance forms of the Maricopa appear in summary as two alone: a circular dance and one in which two opposed lines of dancers trotted backward and forward together. The circular form was used in the big social dances described above, the scalp dance, and with Mountain Killdeer singing. The direction of movement was counterclockwise in all three, as in all Maricopa

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Pima (cf. J. A. Mason, *Papago Harvest Festival*; Davis, *Papago Ceremony*; Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 266, 328; Parsons, *Notes on Pima*, pp. 461 f.; Curtis, II, 12).

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CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THE DREAM EXPERIENCE AND SPIRITS

171 787 At the heart of Maricopa culture was the dream experience. It was the one thing of which they constantly talked, the significant aspect of their life as they saw it. It is this more than any other single element that establishes the unity of their culture with that of the lower Colorado Yumans, and this holds equally for the other, originally Colorado peoples among them, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, so far as one can now judge. At the same time, the Maricopa emphasis on experiences with particular spirits seems more like the generalized North American relation with guardian spirits than does the Mohave, with its myth framework in the phrasing of the dream.

787 554 828 Dream experience was at the bottom of all success in life, and as such their constant preoccupation. Learning was displaced by dreaming, and while it was recognized that an individual acquired skill by practice or imitated songs on hearing others, his activity or knowledge would be neither wholly successful nor significant unless he had dreamed. A single statement of Last Star's epitomizes their attitude: "Everyone who is prosperous or successful must have dreamed of something. It is not because he is a good worker that he is prosperous, but because he dreamed." All songs and song performances were revealed in dreams and their content was the dream experience; on the experience was based the conceiving of children, oratorical power, curing, bewitching, and shamanistic feats; clairvoyance and prowess in war, and the ability to lead in war or to serve as chief. In short, all special abilities were to be had by dreaming, and by dreaming alone.

774 787 [196] Supernatural power came only in dreams and almost always involuntarily. Dream and spirit were called by a single word,

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câma'g. As Mrs. Redbird put it when asked for the word for spirit, "The only way to express 'spirit' is that it comes in dreams." The word gwĭstama'tc, "one who has power," i.e., one who has dreamed, seems based on the same stem. The core of the concept seems to be that what we are here calling spirit and dream were shadowy doubles of the same thing, namely, the experience with spirits in dreams. Asked to explain how the spirits entered into dreams, Kutox gave a halting explanation. "Here is my shadow. Now the Owl somewhere sends his spirit to meet others. We call that hucamai'ĭg. If I am asleep here, there is my shadow. If the spirits wanted to talk to me, they would take me out, that is, that part of me something like my shadow." The word hucamai'ĭg was then rendered "shadows meeting each other," but it is palpably based on câma'g, "dream," not on matkwĭca', "shadow" (of a man, animal, or object), "reflection" (as in water). At another time he said that "a dreamer's shadow (matkwĭca') has the experience with the spirit birds, not his soul (wipai')." This is unsatisfactory: it is at once too vague and too much objectified. The difficulty seems to be that the Maricopa were not interested in sharply crystallizing the concept. So far as I can see it sums up in this fashion: what we are here calling a spirit has no existence or at least never manifests itself except in dreams: the dream is not as we would say a phantasy based on a particular physiological state, but is a state in which some spiritual quality of the dreamer goes out to meet the spirit: in other words, it is the dream experience which is at once the dream and the spirit.

The same concept and stem appeared in the words lucky, câma'sâxωtk (lit. "dream good"), and unlucky, câma'mŭk. These were explained as derived from the quality of one's dreams, which in turn depended on the time of night one dreamed. "To be lucky is to dream good. In the early evening one has bad dreams," and again "before dawn, when the spirit birds are fighting and eating each other, what with all their bloodstains, if one dreams of this he will get sick." Lucky dreams came in the middle of the night (see p. 248). On the other hand, some expressions for having power were based on another stem:

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787 gwĭdĭcʊ̆l'sk, "they have power"; gwĭsĭʊ̆i'k, "one has power";
●[196] gwĭsiʊ̆e', "shaman."

In native theory dreaming was almost wholly unpremeditated. Quite rarely a man visited certain caves in which the spirits were known to dwell in order to induce dreams of them. But there was no such thing as deliberately going out to seek a vision (as distinguished from a dream). In fact, the only vision in a waking state known to my informants (that of the war tale below) came as involuntarily as the usual power-bestowing dream.

463 787 75 Dreams, by reason of their involuntary character, might come to anyone, but the evidence is that relatively few had dreams bestowing songs or the ability to cure, or to foretell or bewitch. Men shamans numbered only five or six at a time and those who bewitched even fewer. There is some question whether women were ever shamans. Similarly, singers, who had their gift by dreaming and were men alone, were a handful, orators even fewer, and there was but one war leader and one chief. The impression was that those who had power never numbered more than a score in the whole community. This does not mean that the rank and file did not have dreams of the same stereotyped sort, since, [753] for instance, falling ill was commonly attributed to dreaming of the dead or of certain plants, and children were born as the re- [842] sult of dreams, but their dreams did not result in power or song. There was a saying that a handsome individual never dreamed of spirits. That, explained Kutox, my informant, accounted for himself!

Professional segmentation among those having power was marked. These individuals were set off from one another by the possession of discrete powers from particular spirits. Thus, Coy- [776] ote and Buzzard gave power to cure, Eagle power to sing, Mocking Bird to orate, Frog to bewitch. The differentiation was not a quantitative one in the sense of some having more power, of having dreamed of more spirits, although this may have been true of shamans who cured. Dreaming of various spirits very probably occurred, as suggested by the fact that a single individual did dream more than one song cycle. Against this particularism in professional activity is the fact that while Buzzard,

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:
Racial affiliations . . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

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PREFACE

The Yuman tribes on the Gila River were originally the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom alone. Prior to 1800, the Maricopa occupied the river above Gila Bend; the Kaveltcadom, a hitherto-unrecorded Halchidhoma speaking group, lay from the Bend downstream halfway to the Colorado. These are the Cocomaricopa and Opa of early Spanish records. About the opening of the nineteenth century the Maricopa shifted a few miles eastward to the middle Gila, where they established themselves in close proximity to the Pima. Here they were joined between 1825 and 1830 by the Halchidhoma fleeing from the Colorado. A decade later (1838–39) the remnant of Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed the Halchidhoma from the Colorado, and about the same time the Kaveltcadom were absorbed from the lower Gila. Since all these movements took place under wholly aboriginal conditions, it seems legitimate to refer to them now in the aggregate as tribes of the Gila River.

It must be understood that the descriptions of the present account apply to the Maricopa unless specifically ascribed to the other tribes. The mixed community has been Maricopa in speech and essentially Maricopa in custom since its formation a century ago. My impression is that in material culture the Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Halchidhoma were essentially alike in the days before their commingling, so that in this respect the description of the Maricopa must also apply to the others. It proved possible to get specific information on most of Halchidhoma non-material culture, so that in the second instance, this paper embodies a description of that people. Notes on the Kaveltcadom, Kohuana and Halyikwamai are incidental.

Maricopa and Halchidhoma spoke barely separable dialects. Yuma was intelligible to them; Mohave and Walapai-Havasupai-Yavapai were closely related, but unintelligible. The other lower Colorado Yuman tribes, Cocopa, Kohuana, and Haly-

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kwamai spoke tongues similar or identical with each other, but set off from Maricopa-Halchidhoma.

The Maricopa have been historically linked with the adjacent Pima. For this reason they have been invariably dismissed as merely Pima-like by earlier writers who uniformly approached from the side of the historically more important, and more numerous, Pima. Their culture was, however, not that of the Pima. It was rather a lower Colorado culture resembling the Pima to no greater degree than the Pima themselves resembled the lower Colorado peoples.

There are today two Maricopa communities; one in the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers, the other, smaller, on the south bank of the Salt at Lehi, a few miles north of Mesa. To the local whites, all the members of these communities are "Maricopa." Actually they consist of the five Yuman tribes mentioned above, intermarried through several generations. It would be difficult to say whether Maricopa or Halchidhoma blood is now preponderant: the Kohuana, Halykwamai, Pima, and lesser ingredients, such as Yuma, are small. Today they form tribally unsegmented communities of Maricopa speech.

The larger Maricopa community in the Gila-Salt confluence numbers somewhat under three hundred individuals. Their scattered houses lie on the extreme western end of the Gila River Indian Reservation, a few miles west of Laveen and about fifteen southwest of Phoenix. There is little contact with the Pima villages, the nearest of which is now ten miles southeast near Gila Crossing. All the notes on which this paper is based were obtained from this community. That at Lehi was not visited. The Lehi group was said to consist of a half dozen families, primarily Halchidhoma. The earlier location of these mixed groups was on both sides of the Gila from Gila Crossing for ten miles upstream to Pima Butte. This area was abandoned in favor of the present locations a half century ago. There is now no Yuman-speaking person in their former territory, nor on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation twenty-five miles south, and none in the Gila Bend district.

Little of the ancient culture remains, the "Maricopa" having

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the Halchidhoma while the latter were still on the Colorado. The Paiute (paiu'tc) were known to be somewhere to the north. Havasupai, Navaho, Zuñi, and Ute were wholly unknown.[14] 101 173

Indians called pase'ĭndj (possibly "man ———") were said to live north of and close to the Apache proper.[15] They wove blankets and owned many sheep. When Kutox was a small boy (1850–55) they passed through Maricopa Wells several times driving sheep to California. Possibly they were Navaho, Zuñi, or eastern Pueblo.

A hitherto unrecorded people were described as living west of the Maricopa, the Kaveltcadom (kavĕltcâθŏ'm, "west or down-river dwellers"). Their settlements were on the south side of the Gila from Gila Bend westward to the Mohawk Mountains. They were said to be Halchidhoma who had left the Colorado long prior to the main body because of dissension among themselves. To the Maricopa they were xaltcàθŏ'm as frequently as kavĕltcâθŏ'm, but distinguished by the name of their home about Gila Bend, kwa'akâma't. They numbered as many as the Halchidhoma proper, at least at the time of the latter's exodus. Where their orginal location on the Colorado may have been is unknown. 101 131 173

That the lower Colorado tribes were well known is attested by the following sequence given by Kutox, my aged Halchidhoma informant. In the north were the Mohave (maxa'vas) holding the river bottom from Fort Mohave downstream. Northeast of them in the mountains were the Walapai. The Chemehuevi (tcŭmâwo'vâ), a people of wholly incomprehensible speech, lived northwest of the Mohave. In the same direction were "Mission Indians" (xatcĭ'tc), undoubtedly Cahuilla, since they are called "Hakwicha by the Mohave, and a dialectic equivalent of Hakwicha by the other Yuman groups that know them."[16] (This 101 173 [197]

[14] Names for these people known to the Havasupai (coconino, hua'âmu"u, sâ'u'u', and yu'ta) were not recognized.

[15] Russell mentions the Pășĭnâ allies of the Apache "from the north" (*Pima Indians*, p. 43). Bartlett in 1852 mentioned the droves of sheep driven along this route from New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora to California (*Personal Narrative*, II, 177, 293).

[16] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 693; Garcés recorded it as Gecuiches (Coues, p. 423 *passim*).

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101 173 [197] agrees with a statement about their language: that it in no way resembled Maricopa but was not like Chemehuevi. Cahuilla and Chemehuevi do indeed belong to quite different branches of the Shoshonean stock.)[17]

The Halchidhoma (xaltcâθŏ'm) were two or three days journey down river from the Mohave at the opening of the nineteenth century, that is, below Parker.

Next downstream, according to Maricopa information, were the yăvipai' kâve', "western Yavapai," who, however, did not live directly on the Colorado but in the mountains to the east.

101 114 115 175 Inquiry was made of two tribal names recorded by Oñate in 1605. At or below Parker he encountered the Bahacechas, allied with the Mohave and of the same speech. This was prior to Halchidhoma occupation of this territory. The name is clearly Yuman, but as Kroeber remarks is unidentifiable.[18] The Maricopa did not recognize it, but Mrs. Redbird suggested it might be the sib name pakl't mistaken for a tribal designation. She pointed out that "people would tell their sib names first, being proud of them." Collectively the people of this sib would be pakl'tcîc. At the same time we must recognize that while the Halchidhoma and Maricopa have the sib pakl't, the Mohave do not. Oñate also reported the Ozaras on the lower Gila, extending to the shores of the sea. Kroeber's suggested possible identification with a Pima or Papago division seems plausible, since it is known that isolated bands of Piman speech were in this general locality in later times. Again Maricopa informants failed to recognize the name. Mrs. Redbird's suggestion was that it might be ose'râm, "I am freezing," mistaken for a tribal name,[19] hence the group may have been of Yuman speech. This is not impossible since Oñate reached this group in midwinter.

101 173 The Yuma (kwĭtca'n) were three days below the Halchidhoma at the mouth of the Gila River. (The mouth was called hŏmkwĭtâva'vâ.) The informant had never heard that the Yuma lived in any location other than this. A days' journey south of the Yuma were the Kohuana (koχwa'n; singular k'wĭn), probably on the west side of the Colorado, west or northwest of the Cocopa. They had already incorporated the Halyikwamai (xal,ikâmai'), a people of identical speech, so that koχwa'n and xal,ikâmai' are sometimes considered interchangeable names.

[17] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 577.

[18] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 802.

[19] As the tribal name Pima is derived in error from the Piman words pia, piate, "none" (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 19).

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361 well with our information. If Tutto was at or near Gila Bend, more than half the distance downstream takes us to the Mohawk Mountains; then comes the unoccupied territory extending slightly less than halfway to the Colorado, that is, to between Wellton and Dome, the known upper limit of the Yuma. The villages cannot be identified beyond this. Tutto seems to have been the principal village and may therefore be our kwáku'p, situated immediately west of the Painted Rock Mountains. The implication of the itinerary of 1700 is that all the Cocomaricopa villages were south of the Gila, which agrees with our information.

101 It is noteworthy that Kino ceased to mention the Opas in the
175 later part of his record. It is also clearly implied that under Piman tutelage he designated the Cocomaricopas and Opas separately. Further, the languages of the Opas, Cocomaricopas, and
[197] Yuma are said to be one,[48] that is not only Yuman, but specifically of the Yuma-Maricopa division. A possible implication is that the Opas, if they really formed a separate group, may have been the Kaveltcadom.

114 Sedelmair's information (1744) is brief and vague. He lists a
175 score of Cocomaricopa rancherías within a span of thirty-six
361 leagues downstream from what was apparently Gila Bend, beyond which by forty-five leagues lay the Colorado.

175 The distribution given by Kino is confirmed and our infer-
[114] ences augmented by the information given seventy-five years after him by Garcés, Anza, Font, and Diaz. In May 1774 Anza and Diaz traversed the Gila from its mouth eastward nearly to Casa Grande. In June of the same year Garcés made a detour from Gila Bend to the north and east along the course of the Gila to the same terminal point near Casa Grande. As all other Spanish chroniclers cut off this segment of the river by taking the direct route from the Bend to the Pima villages, his excursion proves of the utmost significance for our purpose. The following year, in November, Anza, Font, and Garcés made the reverse traverse from near Casa Grande to the Colorado.

175 On the upstream journey in 1774 Anza reached the first village
361 of the Cocomaricopa six leagues above the easily identifiable Mo-

[48] Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 195.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai
Kohuana

The testimony is that the lower Gila was occupied until at least 1828, but there is nothing to show with certainty that its inhabitants were Maricopa rather than Kaveltcadom or some other Yuman speaking group. Emory's assertion that the Maricopa moved from the Gulf is pure inference. The evidence of the shells, of course, certifies nothing.

Bartlett also found no settlements on the lower Gila. He was told by a Maricopa that

> "the Cocomaricopas came here not many years before, to escape from the Yumas, with whom they were constantly at war, and by whom they had been greatly reduced in numbers. Their former range was along the valley of the Gila, on the opposite side of the Jornada and toward the Colorado. [The Jornada here referred to is the desert stretch between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells.] Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection. . . . . The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty years since [1820–25], from a point lower down the Gila, where they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and the Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos."[60]

These "Coco-Maricopa" must be the Kaveltcadom. Bartlett must have been confusing their abandonment of the lower Gila with traditions of the Halchidhoma flight from the Colorado about 1825. It is of course quite possible that the Kaveltcadom abandoned their settlements at the time of the Halchidhoma hegira, or immediately after, being then exposed to the Yuma attacks, but they were certainly at Gila Bend about 1835 when Halchidhoma visitors were slain there by the Mohave. The final abandonment of Kaveltcadom territory must therefore have occurred after 1835 and before 1846.

Apparently we have here the origin of the current but erroneous notion that the Maricopa have traditional knowledge of their own former position on the Colorado. There is of course solid linguistic evidence connecting them with the Colorado Yumans, but there is no traditional knowledge that the Maricopa themselves migrated thence. The Kaveltcadom, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai have been indiscriminately called Cocomaricopa with their Maricopa hosts, and their movements

[60] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 221, 262.

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
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P RY 171 dividing line between them; nor is there any distinguishing character in their villages. I consider that the arts of spinning and weaving, and of making pottery, now practised by both tribes, and in which they are equally expert, originated with the Pimos, who inherited this knowledge from their ancestors; and that from the earliest period, doubtless for centuries, they have occupied portions of the same valley where we now find them. In leaving their villages, I noticed on the edge of the plateau traces of former habitations, which had been abandoned for a great length of time.

P RY 177 648 The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty years since, from a point lower down the Gila, where they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos. They found the latter possessing the arts of weaving, of building more comfortable dwellings, of making better pottery, enjoying a more peaceful mode of life, than that to which they had been accustomed. These arts and habits the Maricopas gradually adopted. Their languages are totally different, so much so that I was enabled to distinguish them when spoken. The former is soft and melodious, the latter harsh and guttural. The Pimos bury their dead, while the Coco-Maricopas burn theirs. These peculiarities stamp them as distinct nations.

P RY 241 I have not cited the agriculture of these tribes as superior to that of all other Indians; although I may